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THE WAR ON HOSPITAL SHIPS

WITH NARRATIVES OF EYE-WITNESSES
AND
BRITISH AND GERMAN DIPLOMATIC
CORRESPONDENCE

SECOND AND REVISED EDITION

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
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PAMPHLETS ON THE WAR
PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS

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BLOOD AND TREASURE

A BRITISH CARDINAL'S VISIT TO THE WESTERN FRONT

THEIR CRIMES

GENERAL VON BISSING'S TESTAMENT

THE MURDER OF A NATION. By A. J. Toynbee
With a Speech and Letter by Lord Bryce

LINGUISTIC OPPRESSION IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE. By Ernest Barker

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK
[ESTABLISHED 1817]

GIFT
MACNEIL DIXON
NOV 3 1915

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

SINCE the first edition of this narrative of "The War on Hospital Ships" was issued, the disregard of conventions and explicit promises, the deliberate murder of wounded patients and the nurses and doctors engaged in the humane task of ministering to the broken men of all belligerent armies, have increased in range and violence.

A summary of the war on hospital ships since May, 1917, with brief narratives from survivors, will be found in an added chapter, "The Second Year." That story has been compiled from the accurate and authenticated narratives of eye-witnesses. This brings the black list up to March 10th, 1918, and it unfolds a record of ruthlessness which has revolted the world.

A further chapter, "Diplomatic Correspondence," contains the Memoranda from the German Government alleging the misuse of hospital ships by Great Britain and the reply of the British Government thereto.

If the laws of humanity are not to be cancelled and our civilisation to fall back to the conditions of the jungle, the only attitude that can be adopted and acted upon in relation to the authors of the outrages is that taken up by the International Red Cross Committee, and expressed in its Note addressed to the German Government (see page 28).

THE WAR ON HOSPITAL SHIPS

I.—THE FIRST YEAR

The "Portugal"

ON March 17th, 1916, the Russian hospital ship "Portugal"* was lying off Rizeh, on the Turkish coast of the Black Sea. She was on her way from Batoum to Ofi with a string of flat-bottomed boats in tow, destined for the conveyance of wounded from the shore to the ship. One of these boats had become water-logged, and was being pumped clear while the "Portugal" lay to. The "Portugal" carried no wounded at the moment, but the Red Cross Staff was on board and the full crew. The weather was clear.

Suddenly the look-out man saw a periscope approaching the vessel, but the ship's officers explained to all hands that they were immune from attack. When the "Portugal" had first been commissioned for Red Cross work—she belonged to the Messageries Maritimes, and still kept her French officers and

* See the report of the Russian Special Commission of Inquiry, under the presidency of Senator Alexis Krivtsov.

crew—the Russian Government had notified the Turkish and Bulgarian Governments of the fact, and had obtained from them a recognition of her status. In the clear weather her distinguishing marks could not be unobserved. The only thing necessary, the captain and the mate explained, was to keep calm, and to take no precautionary measures which might arouse the submarine commander's suspicion.

The submarine approached the "Portugal" quietly and discharged a torpedo, which missed its aim. Then it circled round and discharged a second at the other side of the vessel, from some 30 or 40 feet away. This second torpedo struck the "Portugal" amidships, in the engine-room. There was a violent explosion; the hull broke in two, and most of those on board were precipitated into the whirlpool between the two halves; with a still more violent explosion the boilers blew up, and the bow and stern fragments of the "Portugal" went down simultaneously.

Forty-five of the Red Cross staff were lost, twenty-one of whom were nurses; twenty-one men were lost out of the Russian crew, and nineteen out of the French. Thus eighty-five of those on board perished altogether.

Here is an account of the outrage by one of the survivors—Nikolai Nikolaevitch Sabaev, secretary to the Russian Red Cross Society's Third Ambulance Detachment with the Army of the Caucasus:—

"At about 8 o'clock in the morning, somebody on board shouted out, 'submarine boat.' At first, this news did not produce any panic; on the contrary, everybody rushed on deck to be the first to see the submarine. It never entered anybody's head to suppose that a submarine would attack a hospital ship, sailing under the flag of the Red Cross. I went on to the upper deck, and noticed the periscope of a submarine, moving parallel with the steamer at a distance of about 170 or 200 feet. Having reached a point opposite to the middle of the 'Portugal,' the periscope disappeared for a short time, then reappeared, and the submarine discharged a torpedo. I descended from the upper deck, and ran to the stern, with the intention of jumping into the sea. When, however, I noticed that most of the people on deck had life-belts, I ran into saloon No. 5, seized a life-belt, and put it on, but then I fell down, as the 'Portugal' was sinking at the place where she was broken in two, while her stem and stern were going up higher all the time. All round me unfortunate sisters of mercy were screaming for help. They fell down, like myself, and some of them fainted. The deck became more down-sloping every minute, and I rolled off into the water between the two halves of the sinking steamer. I was drawn down deep into the whirlpool, and began to be whirled round and thrown about in every direction. While under the water, I heard a dull, rumbling noise, which was evidently the bursting of the boilers, for it threw me out of the vortex about a sazhen, or 7 feet, away from the engulfment of the wreck. The stem and stern of the steamer had gone up until they were almost at right angles with the water, and the divided steamer was settling down. At this moment I was again sucked under, but I exerted myself afresh, and once more rose to the surface. I then saw both portions of the 'Portugal' go down rapidly, and disappear beneath the flood. A terrible commotion of the water ensued, and I was dragged under, together with the 'Portugal.' I felt that I was going down deep, and for the first time I realized that I was drowning.

. . . My strength failed me, but I kept my mouth firmly shut, and tried not to take in the water. I knew that the moment of death from heart failure was near. It so happened, however, that the disturbance of the water somewhat abated, and I succeeded in swimming up again. I glanced round. The 'Portugal' was no more. Nothing but broken pieces of wreck, boxes which had contained our medicaments, materials for dressing wounds, and provisions were floating about. Everywhere I could see the heads and arms of people battling with the waves, and their shrieks for help were frightful. . . . 8 or 9 sazhens (56 or 63 feet) away from where I was, I saw a life-saving raft, and I swam towards it. Although my soddened clothes greatly impeded my movements, I nevertheless reached the raft, and was taken on to it. About 20 persons were on it already, exclusively men. Amongst them was the French mate, who assisted the captain of the 'Portugal,' and he and I at once set about making a rudder out of two of the oars which were on the raft, and we placed an oarsman on each side of it. We had been going about 8 minutes when we saw the body of a woman floating motionless, and dressed in the garb of a sister of mercy. . . . We then raised her on to the raft. She was unconscious, quite blue, and with only feeble signs of life. . . . She at last opened her eyes and enquired where she was. I told her that she was saved. Soon, however, she turned pale, said she was dying, and gave me the address of her relatives, to inform them of her death. She began to spit blood, and was delirious, but gradually a better feeling returned, and she was soon out of danger. We went on rowing towards the shore for a considerable time. . . . At last a launch, towing a boat full of the rescued, took us also in tow, and we reached the shore in safety. The hospital ship 'Portugal' was painted white, with a red border all around. The funnels were white with red crosses, and a Red Cross flag was on the mast. These distinguishing signs were plainly visible and there can be no doubt whatever that they could be perfectly well

seen by the men in the submarine. The conduct of the submarine itself proves that the men in it knew that they had to do with a hospital ship. The fact of the submarine having moved so slowly shows that the enemy was conscious of being quite out of danger."

The "Vperiod."

In the beginning of 1916 the "Vperiod," a vessel of 858 tons, was transformed into a hospital ship, with 120 beds for wounded, to take the place of the "Portugal." On July 8th, 1916, while on her way from Batoum to Rizeh, near Trebizond, to fetch wounded, she was torpedoed without warning and sank, with a loss of 7 lives. The "Vperiod" bore all the usual Red Cross marks; and the enemy Governments had been duly informed of the vessel's new status when the change was made six months earlier.

The sinkings of the "Portugal" and the "Vperiod" were apparently casual atrocities, but when the German Government embarked on the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in January, 1917, they determined to sink hospital ships systematically in their "blockaded zone." It was quite a logical decision, for the object of the submarine campaign is to reduce, by every means, the total tonnage of the world. If the world will not accept Germany's conditions, Germany will make the civilised order of the world impossible. That is Germany's challenge, and every hospital ship sunk brings her a step further towards making it good, for the hospital ship that

has been destroyed must be replaced by another ship, which might otherwise have carried timber or grain.

Only, it is not Germany's way to confess her motives, transparent though they generally are, and her purpose to sink hospital ships was therefore announced to the world in the following terms:—

"The German Government can no longer suffer that the British Government should forward troops and munitions to the main theatre of war under cover of the Red Cross, and it therefore declares that from now on no enemy hospital ship will be allowed in the sea zone comprised between a line drawn from Flamborough Head to Terschelling on the one hand and Ushant and Land's End on the other. If in this sea zone after the expiry of the stated time any enemy hospital ship is encountered, it will be considered as a vessel of war, and it will be attacked without further ceremony."

The "Britannic"

Already in 1916 the German Press had seized occasions for spreading this slander. When, for example, the British hospital ship "Britannic" was sunk in the Ægean with 1,100 wounded on board, and about fifty lives were lost, it was at first considered doubtful whether the cause was a torpedo or a mine. But an inspired statement at once appeared in the German *Kieler Zeitung* to the effect that the "Britannic" had been torpedoed.

"The Britannic," the statement declared, "was transporting fresh troops for our enemies. If she

had not been doing so, our submarines would never, of course, have torpedoed her."

This statement was answered by an announcement from the British Admiralty on December 3rd, 1916:—

"German wireless messages to the Embassy, Washington, are again promulgating mendacious reports, purporting to come from Rotterdam, that the hospital ship 'Britannic,' recently sunk, had troops on board.

"A complete statement of all persons carried on board that ship was published on November 14th.

"As has been officially stated on several previous occasions, British hospital ships are employed *solely* in the conditions set forth in the Geneva and Hague Conventions, and they carry neither *personnel* nor material other than that authorised by those Conventions."

The threat against hospital ships contained in the subsequent declaration of unrestricted submarine war was answered by the British Foreign Office on January 31st, 1917:—

"The German Government announce that they have conclusive proof that in several instances enemy hospital ships have often been misused for the transport of munitions and troops. They also state that they have placed these proofs through diplomatic channels before the British and French Governments, and have at the same time declared that the traffic of hospital ships on the military routes for the forces fighting in France and Belgium within a line drawn between Flamborough Head and Terschelling on the one hand, and from Ushant to Land's End on the other, will no longer be tolerated.

"His Majesty's Government have received no such communication, through diplomatic channels or other-

wise, from the German Government as is alleged, and they most emphatically deny that British hospital ships have been used for the transport of munitions and troops, or in any way contrary to the Hague Convention for the adaptation on the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime war.

"Under the Convention belligerents have the right to search hospital ships, and the German Government have therefore an obvious remedy in case of suspicion, a remedy which they have never utilised.

"From the German Government's statement that hospital ships will no longer be tolerated within the limits mentioned only one conclusion can be drawn, namely, that it is the intention of the German Government to add yet another and more unspeakable crime against law and humanity to the long list which disgraces their record.

"In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government have requested the United States Government to inform the German Government that His Majesty's Government have decided that if the threat is carried out reprisals will immediately be taken by the British authorities concerned."

Since then Germany has proceeded from threats to deeds.

The "Asturias."

The hospital ship "Asturias," which had been attacked unsuccessfully by a German submarine as early as Feb. 1st, 1915, was torpedoed and sunk on the night of March 20th–21st, 1917, with all her crew and staff on board. The outrage was announced by the British Admiralty a week later:—

"The British hospital ship 'Asturias,' whilst steaming with all navigation lights and with all the proper distin-

guishing Red Cross signs brilliantly illuminated, was torpedoed without warning on the night March 20–21.

"The following casualties occurred:—

Medical Services:—	Crew:—
Dead 11.	Dead 20
Missing, 3 (including. 1 female staff nurse.	Missing, 9 (including 1 stewardess).
Injured, 17.	Injured, 22.

"The torpedoing of this hospital ship is included in the list of achievements claimed by U-boats as reported in the German Wireless Press message yesterday."

The "Gloucester Castle" and the "Saita."

This announcement was followed by another on April 14th, making public the sinking of the hospital ships "Gloucester Castle" and "Saita":—

"The British hospital ship 'Gloucester Castle' was torpedoed without warning in mid-Channel during the night of the 30th–31st March. All the wounded were successfully removed from the ship.

"The Berlin Official Wireless of April 11 proclaims the fact that she was torpedoed by a U-boat, thus removing any possible doubt in the matter.

"On the 10th instant the British hospital ship 'Saita' struck a mine in the Channel during very bad weather and sank. There were no wounded on board, but it is regretted that the following casualties occurred:—

R.A.M.C. Compliment	Medical Officers	5
	Nursing Sisters	9
	R.A.M.C. *Personnel*	38

all of whom are missing and presumed drowned.

"All the next-of-kin have been informed."

The "Donegal" and the "Lanfranc."

Then, on April 17th, the "Donegal" and "Lanfranc" were sunk, and in a longer statement the Admiralty announced the news and summed up the situation:—

"On the evening of April 17 the ss. 'Donegal' and 'Lanfranc,' while transporting wounded to British ports, were torpedoed without warning.

"Owing to the German practice of sinking hospital ships at sight, and to the fact that distinctive marking and lighting of such vessels render them more conspicuous targets for German submarines, it has become no longer possible to distinguish our hospital ships in the customary manner. One of these two ships, therefore, though carrying wounded, was not in any way outwardly distinguished as a hospital ship. Both were provided with an escort for protection.

"The 'Donegal' carried slightly wounded cases, all British. Of these, twenty-nine men, as well as twelve of the crew, are missing and presumed drowned.

"The 'Lanfranc,' in addition to 234 wounded British officers and men, carried 167 wounded German prisoners, a medical *personnel* of 52 and a crew of 123.

"Of these the following are missing and presumed drowned:—

2 wounded British officers.
11 wounded British other ranks.
1 R.A.M.C. staff.
2 wounded German officers.
13 wounded German other ranks.

"152 wounded German prisoners were rescued by British patrol vessels at the imminent risk of being themselves torpedoed.

"The next-of-kin are being informed in all cases of loss of life.

"The illegal and inhuman submarine warfare which Germany has waged upon merchant shipping has for some time been openly adopted against hospital ships flying the Red Cross flag and otherwise acting in complete conformity with the requirements of the Hague Convention. This culmination of savagery has brought the world face to face with a situation that is without parallel in civilised warfare. It has no justification in any conceivable distortion of international law, nor in the most brutal creed of necessity. The British Government, in considering fully the measures to be adopted in these circumstances, has had in review the entire facts on which the German Government claims to have acted. These may be recapitulated in brief for the consideration of the civilised world.

"On Jan. 29, 1917, the German Government addressed a memorial to the American and Spanish Embassies for transmission to the British and French Governments. In this it was stated that the hospital ships of the Allies, and of Britain in particular, were employed for the purpose of transporting troops and military supplies. The evidence of a number of witnesses, the majority of whom were anonymous and the remainder German, was cited in support of this outrageous statement. The German Government, in conclusion, declared that no hospital ship would be 'tolerated' in the tract of sea lying between lines connecting Flamborough Head and Terschelling on the one side, and Ushant and Land's End on the other.

"The substance of this memorial was embodied in an official German wireless message, and on the evening of Jan. 31 the British Foreign Office issued a statement to the effect that, although no communication had been received through the customary channels alleging the misuse of British hospital ships, they most emphatically denied that such ships had been used in any way contrary to the Hague Convention. It was pointed out that under

this Convention Germany had an obvious remedy in cases of suspicion—the right to visit and to search any hospital ships encountered on the high seas. From the refusal of the German Government to tolerate the hospital ships within certain limits only one conclusion could be drawn, 'namely, that it is the intention of the German Government to add yet other and more unspeakable crimes to the long list that disgraces their record.' The Government of the United States was requested to inform the German Government that if the threat were carried out immediate reprisals would follow.

"The course dictated by humanity and common-sense was plain, and needed no reminder such as was given by the British Government. Yet, in spite of their emphatic denials of the German falsehoods and the subsequent warning conveyed, the British hospital ship 'Asturias' was torpedoed without warning on the night of March 20. The ship was steaming with all navigation lights burning and the proper Red Cross sign brilliantly illuminated. The cumulative evidence that she had been torpedoed and not mined was only accepted after it had been confirmed beyond all doubt and after exhaustive investigation. The loss of life on this occasion included a nursing sister and a stewardess, a fact which might have brought home to any enemy but Germany some sense of the enormity of the outrage

"But the nation responsible for the murder of Nurse Cavell appears to have accepted the intelligence with composure, if not with satisfaction. The German official wireless message of the 26th finally established the guilt of the German Government, who, having boasted of the deed, published on the 29th a further message which said: 'It would, moreover, be remarkable that the English in the case of the "Asturias" should have abstained from their customary procedure of using hospital ships for the transport of troops and munitions.'

"On the night of March 30–31 the hospital ship 'Gloucester Castle' met with a similar fate. On this occasion

the Berlin official wireless message again cynically published a notification that she was torpedoed by a U-boat, thus removing any possible doubt in the matter.

"The British Government thereupon authorised prompt measures of reprisal, in accordance with the announcement already referred to, and on April 14 a large squadron of British and French aeroplanes bombarded the German town of Freiburg with satisfactory results.

"In spite of the warnings conveyed to Germany that her barbarous attacks on hospital ships would result in such action on the part of Great Britain, the German Government published through the wireless message of April 16 an abusive protest, which 'categorically contested any justification' for this reprisal. Nothing could afford a better illustration of German mentality and reasoning. On the other hand, the spirit in which the Allies exacted retribution is shown by the purely military character of the measures adopted. The airmen who carried out the attack were exposed to and did, in fact, incur precisely the same dangers from the town defences as they would have been exposed to in the course of an ordinary action.

"It was plain, however, that any retaliatory measures open to a Government upholding the principles of humanity and justice would not prove a deterrent to Germany in the future. Such reprisals could be only punitive in effect, and it was necessary to reconsider the entire status of hospital ships in the light of the attitude taken by the German Government. The markings agreed upon at The Hague Convention, which had hitherto guaranteed the immunity of hospital ships from attack, rendered them no longer inviolable. The custom of showing all navigating lights and illuminating the distinctive markings at night, only afforded a better target for German submarines. It was therefore decided that sick and wounded, together with medical *personnel* and supplies, must in future be transported for their own safety in ships carrying no distinctive markings and proceeding without lights, in the same manner as ordinary mercantile traffic. Notice

has accordingly been given to the German Government that the British Government have withdrawn certain vessels from the list of hospital ships published by them in accordance with international law, and they will no longer appear thereon.

"During the recent fighting on the Western Front a very large number of wounded German prisoners have fallen into our hands. These officers and men have to be transported to England for treatment by the same means that our own wounded are brought over, and practically all ships transporting wounded are bound to carry a proportion of German wounded. These will naturally share with British wounded equal risks from the attacks of German submarines. Whether the policy of the German Government is likely to be deflected from its abominable course by the knowledge that it can only be pursued at the expense of their own wounded, remains to be seen.

"In conclusion, it may be recalled that although Germany did not frame any formal allegation of the misuse of hospital ships against the Allies until the commencement of 1917, the British hospital ship 'Asturias' was fired at and missed by a German submarine on Feb. 1, 1915, in broad daylight, while flying the Red Cross flag. In the light of recent events it seems reasonable to suppose that the hospital ships 'Braemar Castle' and 'Britannic' were also torpedoed, in Nov., 1916, although the evidence at the time was not considered conclusive as to whether their losses were occasioned by mines or torpedo."

The torpedoing of the "Lanfranc" is thus described by a British officer on board *:—

"The 'Lanfranc' was attacked by a submarine about 7.30 on Tuesday evening, just as we had finished dinner. A few of us were strolling to and fro on the deck, when

* *Daily Telegraph*, April 23, 1917

there was a crash, which shook the liner violently. This was followed by an explosion, and glass and splinters of wood flew in all directions. I had a narrow escape from being pitched overboard, and only regained my feet with difficulty. In a few minutes the engines had stopped, and the 'Lanfranc' appeared to be sinking rapidly, but to our surprise she steadied herself and, after a while, remained perfectly motionless. We had on board nearly 200 prisoners belonging to the Prussian Guard and about twice as many British wounded, among the latter being some very bad cases. The moment the torpedo struck the 'Lanfranc' the Prussians made a mad rush for the life-boats. One of their officers came up to a boat close to which I was standing. I shouted to him to go back, whereupon he stood and scowled. 'You must save us,' he begged. I told him to wait his turn. Other Prussians showed their cowardice by dropping on their knees and imploring pity. Some of them cried 'Kamerad,' as they do on the battlefield. I allowed none of them to pass me.

"Meanwhile the crew and the staff had gone to their posts. The stretcher cases were brought on deck as quickly as possible, and the first boats were lowered without delay. Help had been summoned, and many vessels were hurrying to our assistance. In these moments, while wounded Tommies—many of them as helpless as little children—lay in their cots unaided, the Prussian morale dropped to zero. Our cowardly prisoners made another crazy effort to get into a lifeboat. They managed to crowd into one, but no sooner had it been lowered than it toppled over, The Prussians were thrown into the water, and they fought with each other in order to reach another boat containing a number of gravely wounded British soldiers.

"The behaviour of our own lads I shall never forget. Crippled as many of them were, they tried to stand at attention while the more serious cases were being looked after. And those who could lend a hand scurried below to help in saving friend or enemy. I have never seen so

many individual illustrations of genuine chivalry and comradeship. One man I saw had had a leg severed, and his head was heavily bandaged. He was lifting himself up a staircase by the hands, and was just as keen on summoning help for Fritz as on saving himself. He whistled to a mate to come and aid a Prussian who was unable to move, owing to internal injuries. Another Tommy limped painfully along with a Prussian officer on his arm and helped the latter to a boat. It is impossible to give adequate praise to the crew and staff. They were all heroes. They remained at their posts until the last man had been taken off, and some of them took off articles of their clothing and threw them into the lifeboats for the benefit of those who were in need of warm covering. The same spirit manifested itself as we moved away from the scene of the outrage. I saw a sergeant take his tunic off and make a pillow of it for a wounded German. There was a private who had his arms round an enemy trying hard to make the best of an uncomfortable resting-place.

"In the midst of all this tragedy the element of comedy was not wanting. A cockney lad struck up a ditty, and the boat's company joined in the chorus of 'All dressed up and nowhere to go.' Then we had 'Take me back to Blighty,' and as a French vessel came along to our rescue the boys sang 'Pack up your troubles in your old kit-bag.' The French displayed unforgettable hospitality. As soon as they took our wounded on board they improvised beds and stripped themselves almost bare so that English and German alike might be comfortable. Hot refreshments were provided and cigarettes distributed, and as the ship headed for an English port our fellows, with great gusto, joined in the chorus of 'When we've wound up the Watch on the Rhine.'"

But it was all tragedy for those whose duty it was to receive the survivors on shore, and the following

account shows the extremity of human suffering which Germany's calculated policy entails *:—

"One-thirty o'clock on a belated winter's morning. Colder and more wretched than it had been at midnight. The waters of the harbour were being whipped to frenzy in the darkness by a viciously driving sleety rain. A good time enough for those in warm beds, but no sort of a night for seafaring, or for lying out on the plains of Picardy, say, trying to get shelter out of a water-logged, shrap-sprayed shell crater. Suddenly the line of watchers at the quay head, their coats all gleaming, jumped into life and animation, for from around the end of the long jetty appeared a mast-head light. 'Here they are, at last! How cold and wet they'll be.'

"A second light followed the first, and, handled as though they were rubber-tyred perambulators on a footpath, two of His Majesty's destroyers were laid gently alongside the stage, their sides just kissing the great rope fenders. The whole operation had been performed in perfect silence; but in that dramatic instant of soundless contact with the wharfside fenders, a full-throated shout rent the rain-swept air from the deck of the first destroyer: 'Three cheers for the "Hummingbird" and the "Whipsnake"!'

"For a full minute the thunder of cheering rolled out into the night; a very moving sound, compact of vivid and varied emotions, and contributed to by men who a day or two earlier had been fighting under the scream of our own and enemy shells, and forcing their way through knee-deep mud and tangles of German barbed wire in the inferno between Vimy Ridge and Arras. There they had been wounded, and passed out for rest and treatment in Blighty. But since then, all unarmed and helpless, they had been suddenly called on to face the Boche again, and in his vilest and most murderous guise. Yes, the sum of

Daily Telegraph, April 24, 1917.

the cheering was moving, its component parts singularly varied. For a full minute the cheering rose and fell athwart the driving rain, and then the 'Hummingbird' made answer with one long fierce blast from her siren; full of defiance, and somehow, as it seemed to our ears, of good British cheer.

"Then they began to come ashore; a long, stiffly-moving file of shaky, utterly weary souls, wrapped about as to their heads or arms, necks or shoulders, with rain and brine-soaked surgical bandages. Few had had any sleep for several nights; all were new-plucked from the midmost jaws of death among the shell-holes; and—all had faced the Boche again, at his ugliest, since leaving France. The fatigue in their eyes, which no man may hide in such a case, was pathetic, but there was a look in the same eyes that overrode anything like pathos; the look indomitable. Some of the greyness began to fade from out their faces now, as, warmed and cheered and comforted, they climbed into the waiting train, filling coach after coach, an endless succession. As they sank into their seats, one heard short, hard sighs of relief pass their tight-closed lips. But for talk, there was mighty little of that, and might have been none, if one had put no questions.

"'Yes, we were within sight of Blighty when the torpedo got us'—it was a long, lean North-countryman who spoke—'but it just caught our stern, and blew it clean away—a few men with it too. Another 4 secs. and that would have been a wasted torpedo.' An exceptionally small, earnest-faced man in the corner looked up. 'Yes,' he said, quickly and quietly; 'and I suppose a few Boches might have been saved for a bit from earning—hell!'

"'Eh? Well, I don't know about that,' resumed the North-countryman, in an open-minded, matter-of-fact way, as if he regarded this as a question for the decision of some superior officer, possibly his commanding officer. 'But it was wonderful to see the two destroyers. They are men, those sailors. They had their boats in the water

almost before you could turn around. One of them came close in alongside of us, and the other went circling round and round us, like a sheep-dog, but angry. Man, but that destroyer did look angry. We floated just over a quarter of an hour, and we were very nearly all clear of her, when she give one h'ist, and went down like a plummet. That last few minutes wasn't nice, you know—like waiting to go over the parapet. Some of us jumped to the deck of the destroyer, and some got knocked about a bit; wounded men, ye see; not so handy as they might be other times. The destroyer came right in under us at last, to get the last of us, and only drew away as the suction began. There wasn't any muddle of panic, you know; no more'n on a job o' work at the front. I don't suppose we minded as much as civvies would. The Army does teach you how to keep your head; and, anyhow, we'd been getting it in the neck this long time from shells, and Emma Gees, an' bombs, an' that. This was only a sort of a last act. If it came out there, you'd think nothing of it; but on the way here I suppose a man begins to lay off a bit, as ye mighty say, an' get a bit slacker.'

"A handful of lint is given to one man with a bandanged arm and a nasty cut on his forehead, which was still bleeding. 'I only just found out I had that,' he said. 'I did feel a bit of a bump there when I was getting down the side, but forgot it after. Of course, we could see she was done for, and everybody kept quiet. It was lucky the rain was so heavy, they say, because it beat the sea down a bit, and made it smoother. It was perishing cold; but I'm feeling fine now. I got twenty-eight Boches to me own rifle, out there by Blangy, and I wish it had been a hundred. We picked 'em off as they ran, like rabbits. Between us here, I reckon we must have got a regiment of 'em, so no wonder they wanted to get us to-night. It seems a dirty way to do it, with a hospital ship. But there—you know what the Boches are. A chap on the destroyer—they're men, those destroyer chaps, all right—he told me a thing or two about what happened to

these U-boats, and it sounded pretty good, I can tell you. I suppose the Boches can't help being Boches—the silly blighters!'

"One went the length of the long train. The silent calm of it all seemed almost unnatural; fatigue of body and mind. The whole thing was accepted as part of the day's work; and, after all, 'We're in Blighty, you know, an' don't you forget it,' said one man. 'It's rather like something you've seen in "the pictures,"' said another. As the train pulled slowly, smoothly out from the stage, the rescued men offered up their thanks again, the only way they knew, with a long, quivering cheer. 'Are you downhearted?' called an orderly. With a long, rumbling roar of a 'No,' they disappeared into the night, and—England.

"'Nice chap, Fritz,' said a destroyer officer, as he turned away."

The epilogue is given by a worker in a Y.M.C.A. hut:—

"We have had a most stirring and exciting day. We got down to the Hut this morning to find that part of the crew and some of the wounded soldiers rescued from a torpedoed hospital ship had been brought in to the dock. They were sent in to us to wait for the ambulances. The ship, H.M. Hospital Ship 'Lanfranc,' was struck at 8 o'clock last evening. Some French fishing smacks dashed to the rescue and brought them in about 8 o'clock this morning. Many of the men were only half dressed, and all were cold and hungry. We made a great horseshoe of our tables round the stove, and got them all a hot breakfast.

"Three of them were so badly wounded that they had to be laid on tables. It was awful to see men with their bandages torn off their wounded limbs, and the stories they told bring home to one most forcibly what a shipwreck of wounded soldiers must be like. Some of the

crew seemed all right, but after a while I suppose the shock began to tell, and they looked too dreadful for words. They were all so nice and so brave, for some were clearly in a great deal of pain.

"One of those rescued was the officer's mess-room page, a mere child of about 15. We were told that there were 242 British soldiers, only two of which were walking cases, and 130 Germans; 35 of these were officers. Two R.A.M.C. men were lost, and, it is feared, some of the crew.

"Some of the less badly wounded Germans stampeded and jumped into a boat, partly filled with their own wounded. This they swamped, and the only person saved in it was an English boy, brought in to us with a crushed hand and leg. He was caught by a chain down the ship's side, but it held him until he could be removed.

"After the dockers had left, and we had got all straight and tidy, some of the wounded went to the piano and began to sing—they are wonderful! It made us feel queer to hear them sing 'Pack up your troubles in your old kit-bag,' &c.

"After a little while Miss Waldegrave went to them and said that she felt they ought to give thanks for being safe —would they join in a hymn? Every man came to the piano, except one who was too bad to move (the worse cases had been taken away). They sang most wonderfully, 'O God, our help in ages past.' Then Miss Waldegrave said a short prayer, and before she could move away one of the men said, 'Might they have "for those in peril on the sea" for their mates, as they did not know where they might be?'

"I have never heard anything like it. Many broke down. In the middle the cars came to take them away. They finished the hymn and then said good-bye. They gripped our hands until it was painful. Many of them ran back two or three times and said, 'Thank you, thank you; we shall never forget this morning.' We shall certainly never forget them, the stories they told. One

of those rescued had neither arms nor legs; another, who had lost both hands and both feet, managed to get on deck unaided!"

THE VERDICT OF THE RED CROSS.

The verdict passed on these German outrages by the civilised world is expressed in a Note which the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva—a body of the highest standing and most scrupulous impartiality—addressed to the German Government on the subject of its memorial of January 29th, 1917, and the acts by which it was followed up:—

"The International Committee, whose right and duty it is to enforce respect for the principles of the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention by reporting violations of them, draws the very serious attention of the German Government to the responsibility which it would assume towards the civilised world by persisting in a resolution which is in contradiction to the humanitarian conventions which it has pledged itself solemnly to respect.

"In torpedoing hospital ships it is not attacking combatants, but defenceless beings, wounded or mutilated in war, and women who are devoting themselves to the work of relief and charity. Every hospital ship is provided with the external signs prescribed by international conventions, the use of which has been regularly notified to belligerents, and should be respected by belligerents. The latter may, according to The Hague Convention, exercise the right of search, but have in no case any right to sink a ship and expose to death the hospital staff and the wounded.

"The 'Asturias' appears to have been torpedoed without any care having been taken to ascertain her character or her destination.

"Even if the correctness of the facts were admitted upon which Germany bases justification of her order, the International Committee considers that nothing can excuse the torpedoing of a hospital ship, and expresses the hope that such an order, contrary to international conventions, will cease to be carried out."

This Note, from the greatest humanitarian society to the most ruthless military Power in the world, is a protest without precedent against an unprecedented crime.

II.—THE SECOND YEAR

The "Dover Castle."

THE hospital ship "Dover Castle," homeward bound with wounded soldiers from Salonika, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean on May 26th, 1917. One torpedo crippled her and a second torpedo sank her. The first shot came without the slightest warning. It was a beautiful evening and the sea was calm. Had it been otherwise many a home might have had to mourn the loss of a gallant son. The vessel was struck on the starboard side, and reeled heavily.

A great hole was torn in her side, through which the water poured. One of the lifeboats was smashed, men were thrown about in all directions, and the engines were stopped.

The vessel gradually became lower in the water, but fortunately she was able to remain afloat.

Providentially there were very few cot-cases on board, most of the men being able to walk.

"Talk about winning the V.C.," said one sailor, "it was won time after time by men who seemed absolutely care-

less about themselves. You must remember that when a vessel has a large hole in her side, she is liable to go down at any minute.

"The wounded soldiers again proved themselves to be brave men. The ship's officers and medical staff were almost reckless in their devotion to duty. It was a big task to transfer 600 wounded from the ship, but thank God! we did it."

When the roll was called on shore it was found that six of the stokehold crew were missing.

The German Government has repeatedly charged us with using hospital ships for the transport of wounded and munitions of war.

In August, 1917, the Admiralty issued a statement which showed that in some few cases it had been necessary to transport wounded in ships containing munitions, but that in such cases the vessels *had not been marked or designated as hospital ships*, and *that no claim for immunity from attack had been made in respect of such vessels when so employed.*

A list of ships for which immunity is claimed is sent to the German Government through a neutral Power, and when such ships are diverted to other purposes their names are removed from the list. Thus both the spirit and the letter of the humane conventions have been observed, and no possible ground or excuse for the destruction of declared hospital ships exists. Every other German charge

or statement as a cloak for the torpedoings has also been carefully examined and clearly refuted.

The "Rewa."

About midnight on January 4, 1918, the "Rewa." a vessel of over 7,000 tons, brilliantly lighted with all the distinctive Red Cross markings, was attacked without warning in the Bristol Channel, outside the area within which it was Germany's declared intention to attack such ships.

In accordance with an arrangement made between the belligerents by the King of Spain, Spanish officers travelled on the "Rewa" from Salonika, but left the ship at Gibraltar. This was the last place of call, and it was impossible for the "Rewa" to change the character of her cargo between that point and home.

There were on board wounded men from Salonika and their nurses and medical staff, making, with the crew, a total of 550 souls.

The torpedo struck the cross painted on the ship's side and holed her right through.

In an orderly manner the cot cases were first put on the boats with the attendant nurses—then followed the remainder of the wounded, and last the crew and officers. The full boats stood off from the

steamer, and ten minutes later she plunged head foremost into the sea and disappeared. Two anxious hours upon the moonlit waters followed and then, to the great cheer of the watchers, a tank steamer and two mine-sweepers, called by the wireless operator of the sinking "Rewa," tore through the waves to the rescue. In an hour the whole 500 were transhipped and steaming to the nearest port, leaving three members of the crew in the depths with the "Rewa."

It is not due to the Germans that all on board were not destroyed.

The "Glenart Castle."

The Bristol Channel—out of the barred zone—was again the scene of outrage when, on Febrary 26th, the "Glenart Castle," a 6,800-ton hospital ship, outward bound with all her lights showing, was blown up in a rough sea on a pitch-dark night.

An American torpedo-boat destroyer and a French schooner were the first to bring survivors to shore. From the rescued ones it was ascertained that the engine room of the "Glenart Castle" was struck about 4 a.m. The lights went out and the ship foundered in seven minutes.

There were about 200 persons on board, consisting

of the crew and the hospital staff, but no patients.

A Newport man said:—

"All went well until about 4 a.m. on Tuesday, when the vessel was about 50 miles west of Lundy. I was then snug in my bunk. It was pitch dark; there was a formidable sea running. All at once the vessel was struck a terrific blow. The torpedo had evidently landed on its mark all right, for in a few seconds there was a second tremendous explosion, which seemed to blow out the side of the vessel.

"When I got on deck with only my pyjamas on, I could see that most of the boats on the starboard side had been smashed and the deck ripped open by the explosion. Most of the stern was awash, and it was evident that the ship was sinking rapidly. Though the explosion had put out the lights, there was no disorder. Captain Burt was cool and resourceful, giving his orders from the bridge with clearness and composure until he went down with the ship."

Seven out of the nine boats on the ship were successfully launched, and after tossing about on a choppy sea for nearly seven hours and bailing hard all the time, the survivors were brought to land by the "Feon" (the French schooner) and the American torpedo-boat destroyer.

Those who were saved will never forget the heart-rending screams which came to them on all sides from men and women struggling in the water. The cries continued for some time.

One hundred and fifty-three lives were lost by this most dastardly of all crimes against non-combatants.

The "Guildford Castle."

The latest outrage was an attack—happily in this case unsuccessful—on the "Guildford Castle." Once again it was in the Bristol Channel, in an area supposed to be free from the German danger to hospital ships.

It took place on a calm Sabbath afternoon. The great hospital ship was carrying a full complement of wounded from the East African battlefield to Avonmouth Dock.

The vessel left Cape Town on February 15th, with 450 wounded men. She was freshly painted and marked as a hospital ship. With her Red Cross flag flying and lights on, she reached the entrance to Bristol Channel. At 5.35 p.m. on March 10th, the fourth officer called the attention of the captain to a torpedo which went across the stern of the vessel some 30 or 50 yards away, at right angles to the ship. A minute or so afterwards the ship received a severe blow.

The captain put his helm to starboard to give less surface in case another attack came. Under splendid discipline the patients and staff were made ready

for the boats, but the ship floated and finally reached dock.

HOSPITAL SHIPS SUNK BY GERMAN SUBMARINES.

Name.	Date.	Lives Lost.
"Portugal"	March 17th, 1916.	85
"Vperiod"	July 8th, 1916.	7
"Britannic"	Nov. 21st, 1916.	50
"Braemar Castle"	Nov. 22nd, 1916.	1
"Asturias"	March 20th, 1917.	43
"Gloucester Castle"	March 30th, 1917.	3
"Donegal"	April 17th, 1917.	41
"Lanfranc"	April 17th, 1917.	34
"Dover Castle"	May 26th, 1917.	6
"Rewa"	Jan. 4th, 1918.	3
"Glenart Castle"	Feb. 26th, 1918.	153

III.—DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Memorandum of the German Government Respecting the Misuse of Enemy Hospital Ships *

FOR some time the enemy Governments, especially the British Government, have used their hospital ships not only for the purpose of rendering assistance to the wounded, sick, and shipwrecked, but also for military purposes, and have thereby violated the Hague Convention regarding the application of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare.

The fact that the British Government during the campaign on the Gallipoli Peninsula designated to the Governments of the Central Powers a disproportionately large number of ships as hospital ships, which could not possibly serve exclusively for the transport and care of the sick and wounded, already tended to arouse suspicion. In 1915 alone not less than fifty-nine ships were notified by them as hospital ships after forty ships had already been notified as hospital ships since the beginning of the

* *Correspondence with the German Government regarding the Alleged Misuse of British Hospital Ships, Miscellaneous, No. 16* (1917) [Cd. 8692], 3d.

War. After the victorious completion of the Gallipoli campaign, the Turkish Government informed neutral Powers in a note of protest that the English commanders had used the hospital ships in the eastern part of the Mediterranean for the purpose of bringing back troops and military supplies.

Furthermore, the British Government did not, as is the general custom, equip certain ships once and for all as hospital ships for use for the duration of the war, but often placed one and the same ship on the list of hospital ships, and then again cancelled it from the list, so that the German Government was hardly able to convey to its naval forces in due time information to the required effect. The steamship "Copenhagen," for instance, which was used by the British Government as a transport, was notified as a hospital ship in a note from the American Embassy at Berlin, dated the 14th October, 1914; subsequently, on the 6th February, 1915, she was notified as having been struck off the list, on the 1st January, 1961, again added to the list, and on the 4th March, 1916, again struck off the list. This procedure conveyed the impression that uncertainty and confusion were to be aroused regarding the character of the ships used for this purpose, which permitted the display of the peaceful or belligerent character of the ship according to requirements.

Furthermore, in 1915, the German Government received numerous trustworthy reports that the English hospital ships in the Channel, which chiefly

served the purpose of fetching the wounded of the British Army fighting on French and Belgian soil from French harbours and transporting them to English harbours, were conspicuously heavily laden on the journey from England to France, while on the return journey they had normal draught. This fact led various observers, especially ship captains, to conclude that the ships were being employed on the outward journey to France to transport munitions, and the the Red Cross emblem was being abused.

This presumption was then confirmed by a quantity of unexceptionable testimony. English soldiers frankly admitted the use of hospital ships for such purposes. A French sergeant told a German prisoner that he had closely observed the loading of munitions from many automobiles into the hospital ship "La France" in the harbour of Marseilles. According to the affidavit of a trustworthy neutral, English sailors have stated that the transport of munitions to France was often effected by means of hospital ships on the part of the English. Finally, there are statements on oaths from eye-witnesses who were present when munitions were being loaded on board hospital ships.

The worst breach of the above-mentioned Hague Convention, however, is to be found in the fact that the British and French Governments have in numerous cases effected the transport of their troops by means of hospital ships. Apart from the fact that

superior officers appear to prefer travelling on hospital ships, a large number of trustworthy reports, including especially sworn statements relative to the transport of bodies of troops, are to hand. Evidently the transport of troops by means of hospital ships is a regular practice in the Channel. Besides this, it has on different occasions been ascertained that these ships are armed.

The reports of trustworthy informants and witnesses, who are mentioned in the annexes,* constitute only a small part of the material in the possession of the German Government. The names of several of these persons could not be mentioned because they are either directly or indirectly within the reach of the enemy's power, and would therefore be exposed to severe reprisals if their names were given. In any case, no doubt exists in the mind of the German Government that the enemy Governments have continually, and most seriously, violated by their action the Hague Convention regarding the application of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare.

In view of the breach of treaty committed by their enemies the German Government would be entitled to free themselves altogether from the obligations contained in the Convention; for reasons of humanity, however, they desire still to refrain from doing so. On the other hand, they can no longer permit the British Government to despatch their troop and munition transports to the principle

* For which see the White Paper Cd. [8692].

theatre of war under the hypocritical cloak of the Red Cross. They therefore declare that from this moment on they will no longer suffer any enemy hospital ship in the maritime zone which is situated between the lines Flamborough Head to Terschelling on the one hand and Ushant to Land's End on the other. Should enemy hospital ships be encountered in this maritime zone, after an appropriate lapse of time, they will be considered as belligerent and will be attacked without further consideration. The German Government believe themselves all the more justified in adopting these measures as the route from Western and Southern France to the West of England still remains open for enemy hospital ships, and the transport of English wounded to their homes can consequently be effected now as heretofore without hindrance.

BERLIN, *January* 28, 1917.

MEMORANDUM OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE ADOPTION OF FURTHER MEASURES AGAINST THE MISUSE OF THE ENEMY'S HOSPITAL SHIPS.

In their Memorandum of the 29th January,* 1917 the German Government established that the enemy Governments, in particular the British Government, were employing their hospital ships not only for the purpose of rendering aid to wounded, sick, and ship-

* The copy communicated to His Majesty's Government is dated the 28th January (see above).

wrecked persons, but also for military objects, thereby committing a grave breach of the Hague Convention regarding the application of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare. On that ground the German Government declared a stated area in the southern portion of the North Sea and in the English Channel to be closed for enemy hospital ships, the effect of this to be that within this area hospital ships would be regarded as belligerent, and would be attacked forthwith.

In so far as the enemy Powers have furnished any reply to the German Government's Memorandum, they have, as was to be expected, denied the misuse of their hospital ships. It is remarkable in this connection that the British did not proceed on logical lines in dealing with the matter, seeing that the British Admiralty, in their statement, only denied that troops had been transported, whereas the British Government themselves denied also the carriage of munitions. In face of the numerous pieces of evidence laid before the German Government, such statements on the part of the enemy cannot carry any weight whatsoever.

Memorandum of the British Government in Reply to German Allegations of the Improper Use of British Hospital Ships.

The German Memorandum of the 28th January, 1917, made allegations of misuse of British and

Allied hospital ships, and in twenty-three annexes furnished evidence, chiefly in the shape of reports of officers of the German Government and statements of witnesses, which, in the view of the German Government, proved or pointed to such misuse. A further Memorandum, dated the 29th March, 1917, repeated these allegations in general terms and quoted further declarations in support of them.

In replying to the accusations brought forward by the German Government, His Majesty's Government desire, before all, to call attention to the remarkable fact that German submarines and other warships have never once exercised the right of inspecting British hospital ships, which is given to them by Article 4 of the Hague Convention for the application of the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare. So far as can be ascertained they have only once stopped a British hospital ship long enough to examine her papers. This occurred on the 23rd February, 1917, when the hospital ship "Dunluse Castle" was stopped by a German submarine in the Eastern Mediterranean; her papers were found to be in order and the vessel was allowed to proceed. It might have been expected that the German Government, seeing that they had reports in their possession, which they profess to regard as reliable, pointing to the misuse of British hospital ships, would not have completely neglected the obvious and well-recognized method of inspection for the purpose of verifying their suspicions.

Instead, they have preferred to appeal for support to their charges to conjectural statements of persons who never had an opportunity of ascertaining whether there was any real foundation for their assumptions, and, on this flimsy basis, without making any attempt to discover the value of the hearsay evidence which they had collected or giving His Majesty's Government any opportunity of rebutting their allegations, they proceeded to the extreme step of ruthlessly attacking innocent hospital ships engaged in their humane task of serving the sick and wounded.

His Majesty's Government have now made enquiry into the allegations contained in the German Memoranda so far as they concern British hospital ships, and so far as the charges made are not in such vague terms as to preclude any possibility of investigating their foundation. Generally, the charges group themselves under four heads, viz.:—

1. Alleged excessive number of hospital ships in relation to the Gallipoli campaign.

2. Changes in the list of hospital ships, with supposed intention to deceive.

3. Alleged transport of munitions.

4. Alleged transport of troops.

As to (1), the number of hospital ships employed was not excessive having regard to the number of invalids to be evacuated from Gallipoli. On the contrary, the accommodation on hospital ships proved to be inadequate to meet requirements, and

it was necessary to employ ordinary transports in addition for the conveyance of sick and wounded. These transports were, of course, not protected by the Hague Convention, did not fly the Red Cross flag, and were not fitted out as hospital ships.

As to (2), no rule exists under which a hospital ship, once notified, must remain in hospital service for the duration of the war. It is perfectly true that certain ships were notified as hospital ships and later on were removed from the list. This was due to alterations in the requirements for various classes of tonnage, caused by the sinkings of ships by submarines and to changes in the military situation.

There is no ground for the somewhat nebulous suggestion of the German Government that the aim of the changes was to produce uncertainty and confusion in regard to the character of the ships, and no evidence is adduced to show what military advantages could be gained by such confusion, which, in fact, would probably be disadvantageous rather than otherwise, since it would be injurious to the safety of the hospital ships themselves.

As to (3) and (4), alleged conveyance of munitions and troops, to which nearly all the evidence relates, a detailed examination of the particular instances alleged is given below. It may, however, be stated at once that British hospital ships have never been used for the carraige of munitions of war or of combatant troops. Red Cross stores and personnel of

the Royal Army Medical Corps (who are protected by the Geneva Convention) have been embarked, and it appears probable that the German Government have been misled by the fallacious deductions of their witnesses, who apparently were unable to verify their assumption that cases of Red Cross stores were really munitions of war and bodies of the Royal Army Medical Corps in khaki uniform detachments of combatant troops.

The statement in the second German Memorandum to the effect that, while His Majesty's Government had denied that British hospital ships had carried either troops or munitions, the British Admiralty had merely declared that no troops had been conveyed in such ships, without denying the carriage of munitions, is curiously devoid of point. Both in the statement issued by His Majesty's Government on the 1st February, 1917, and in a note addressed to the United States Ambassador in London on the 31st January, the allegations of the German Government were contradicted in respect both of troops and of munitions. The discrepancy which the German Government pretend to have discovered between the declarations of His Majesty's Government as a whole, and those of the Admiralty in particular, appear to rest on a statement issued by the Admiralty and published on the 2nd February, in which particular notice is given to the allegation of Albert Messany, circulated in a German wireless Press message, to the effect that 2,500 soldiers who

were not invalids had been carried by the hospital ship "Britannic." With reference to this allegation the Admiralty stated that no British hospital ship had ever embarked any persons but invalids and hospital staff. There was no occasion in that particular connection to refer to munitions. The play which the German Government make with this imaginary discrepancy is an illustration of their practice of trying to make capital out of infinitesimal points, a practice which has the appearance of being adopted in order to cover up the weakness of their main position.

[After these general remarks the specific statements contained in the annexes to the German Memorandum of the 28th January and in the Memorandum of the 29th March are examined in detail.]

THE END

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